

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7321

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 4636

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MCAP, NATO

SUBJECT: MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE

REFS: A. STATE 187347

B. USNATO 4527

C. USNATO 4585

D. USNATO 4180

E. USNATO 4596

F. USNATO 4222

G. USNATO 1955

H. USNATO 4368

1. THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS CONTAIN COMMENTS OF A GENERAL NATURE ON WASHINGTON'S DRAFT MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE, POUCHED TO US, AND REF A. WE WILL PROVIDE MORE DETAILED COMMENTS LATER, IF REQUIRED.

GENERAL COMMENTS ON SUBSTANCE OF PAPER

2. THE PAPER POUCHED TO MISSION CONTAINS MANY FAMILIER THEMES PRESENTED BY SECRETARY SCHLESINGER IN THE PAST AND VIGOROUSLY PROMOTED BY US MISSION IN DPC AND OTHER NATO FORA--E.G., EMPHASIS ON CONVENTIONAL FORCE IMPROVEMENTS, RATIONALIZATION, STANDARDIZATION, THE BASIC ISSUES. MANY OF THEM HAVE RECEIVED AT LEAST SOME DEGREE OF NATO RECOGNITION AND ENDORSEMENT. SOME CONFIDENTIAL

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ARE THE SUBJECT OF ONGOING STUDY IN NATO FORA.

3. THOSE THAT ARE EITHER NEW OR IN NEED OF GREATER EMPHASIS INCLUDE INTEGRATION AND COHESION OF FORCES, FLEXIBLE EMPLOYMENT OF FORCES,

AND MORE COMMON PROGRAMS.

4. TO BE OF MAXIMUM USEFULNESS, A PAPER OF THIS KIND NEEDS PRECISE ORGANIZATION, CLARITY AND SPECIFICITY, THE ABSENCE OF CONTRADICTIONS, AND ELIMINATION OF MATTERS OF LESSER IMPORTANCE AND OF DOUBTFUL ACCEPTABILITY TO ALLIES. A FEW EXAMPLES FOLLOW:

A. THE RESOURCE GUIDANCE ON PAGE 3 CALLS FOR AN ANNUAL REAL INCREASE IN DEFENSE SPENDING OF 3-5 PERCENT, WHEREAS PAGE 10 SEEMS TO CALL FOR NO INCREASE IN PRESENT LEVEL OF RESOURCES FOR DEFENSE.

B. B10(A) PAGE 4 CALLS FOR MAINTENANCE OF PRESENT FORCE STRUCTURE, WHEREAS LAST SENTENCE ON SAME PAGE SEEMS TO ADVOCATE RESTRUCTURING FORCES TO SUIT DEFENSIVE NATURE OF ALLIANCE.

C. INCLUSION OF A SECTION ENCOURAGING COOPERATION WITH SPAIN SEEMS INAPPROPRIATE IN MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE BEARING ON NATO'S MILITARY FORCES. IN ANY CASE, DESPITE OUR FULL SUPPORT OF US POSITION, IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT OUR ALLIES, WHO HAVE BEEN UNWILLING EVEN TO HAVE NAVOCFORMED VISIT A SPANISH PORT OR EXERCISE WITH A SPANISH SHIP, WOULD ACCEPT LANGUAGE "ANTICIPATING THE EVENTUAL ENTRY OF SPAIN INTO THE ALLIANCE" AND REQUESTING NMA'S TO "PREPARE PLANS" FOR SUCH ENTRY.

D. PARA 24E(1) SEEMS TO REPEATS MATERIAL IN PARA 7.

E. IT IS DIFFICULT TO ENVISION NATO MINISTERS ACCEPTING ANYTHING LIKE THE CONTENT OF PARA 13, WHICH HAS NATO ADMITTING TO "PLANNING DIFFICULTIES" SUCH AS "THE IMAGE OF HOPELESSNESS, PAROCHIALISM, AND THE TENDENCY OF COUNTRIES TO GO IT ALONE, A CONCENTRATION ON HARDWARE IN FORCE PLANNING, A PERSISTENT INABILITY TO MEASURE NATO PROGRESS, THE FEAR OF PROVIDING EXCUSES FOR US REDUCTIONS, THE SPREADING OF NATIONAL RESOURCES THINLY ACROSS MANY FUNCTIONS, THE FRUSTRATIONS WHICH ARISE FROM THE INABILITY TO COMPLETE LARGE COMMON PROJECTS, AND UNCRITICAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE THREAT." HOWEVER TRUE THESE ACCUSATIONS ARE (AND SOME OF THEM ARE VALID COMMENTS ON THE VIEWS OF SOME IN CONFIDENTIAL

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ALLIED NATIONS, TO SUBSCRIBE TO SUCH A MEA CULPA WOULD, WE FEEL CERTAIN, BE WELL BEYOND THE CAPACITY OF MOST ALLIED MINISTERS OF DEFENSE, AND IN SOME INSTANCES BE INACURRATE.

5. ONE SUBSTANTIVE PROBLEM OF THE DOCUMENT AT THIS STAGE IS ITS LACK OF SPECIFICITY. VAGUE EXHORTATION WHICH COMMITS NO ONE TO ANYTHING AND GIVES NO USEFUL GUIDANCE TO ANYBODY WILL NOT DO THE JOB.

POSSIBLE USES OF THE DOCUMENT

6. THE USE TO BE MADE OF A DOCUMENT SUCH AS THAT SUBMITTED TO

MISSION NEEDS TO BE CAREFULLY THOUGHT OUT. IT IS A FARREACHING COMPENDIUM OF VIEWS, EXHORTATIONS, PROPOSALS COVERING A VAST AREA. IT DOES NOT SEEM TO FOCUS ON A FEW "KEY ELEMENTS" OF MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE AS SUGGESTED BY SECRETARY SCHLESINGER AT JUNE DPC MINISTERIAL.

7. IN MISSION VIEW, THOSE PARTS OF THE DOCUMENT THAT ARE APPROPRIATE FOR INCORPORATION IN MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE TO MNC'S, AS DEFINED IN DPC/D(74)10 AND AGREED TO AT A MINISTERIAL LEVEL BY THE US, SHOULD CONSTITUTE A SEPARATE SECTION OF THE DOCUMENT. THIS SECTION SHOULD BE REFERRED TO THE DRC AS A BASIS FOR CARRYING OUT TASK ASSIGNED TO THEM IN SEC GEN PO 74/93.

8. MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE MIGHT PROPERLY INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING SUBJECTS:

A. THE THREAT

B. THE NATO SITUATION

C. COMMITMENTS ACCEPTED BY NATO NATIONS: MAINTAINING FORCE LEVELS, RATIONALIZING FORCES, STANDARDIZING WEAPONS, AND EXPANDING COOPERATION IN COMMUNICATIONS, LOGISTICS ETC.

D. NATO COMMON PROGRAMS

E. DETAILED RESOURCE GUIDANCE TO NMA'S FOR PLANNING PURPOSES

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F. GUIDANCE TO NMAS GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF CONVENTIONAL FORCES.

G. INSTRUCTIONS TO NMA'S TO INCLUDE IN FORCE GOALS THEIR RECOMMENDATIONS ON IMPROVED FLEXIBILITY, RATIONALIZATION, SPECIALIZATION, STANDARDIZATION, COOPERATION IN LOGISTICS, AND CIVIL EMERGENCY PLANNING.

9. THE MOST CRITICAL ELEMENT OF THE MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE IS THE STATEMENT OF WHAT THE RESOURCES ARE THAT MAJOR NATO COMMANDERS CAN DRAW ON IN FORMULATING THEIR FORCE PROPOSALS. THE DIFFICULTY WE HAD WITH FORCE PROPOSALS IN THE LAST CYCLE WAS THAT THE LIMITS ON RESOURCES IN NATIONAL PROGRAMS WERE NOT CLEAR AND THEREFORE THE MNC'S INCLUDED LONG LISTS OF GOALS THAT NATO NATIONS COULD NOT HOPE TO FULFILL. USNATO HAS SUGGESTED POSSIBLE WAYS OF CITING RESOURCE LIMITS IN THE MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE (REFS G. AND H.)
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 4636

10. ANOTHER KEY ELEMENT OF THE MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE COULD BE THE SECTION EXPRESSING WHAT IT IS THAT NATO NATIONS COMMIT THEMSELVES TO DO THAT WILL BE OF ASSISTANCE TO THE NCS'S IN THEIR FORCE PLANNING. FOR EXAMPLE, THAT SECTION MIGHT CONTAIN A FIRM COMMITMENT BY ALL NATIONS TO STANDARDIZE ON NEW RIFLE AMMUNITION AND A NEW RIFLE, AS WELL AS NEW TANK AMMUNITION AND A NEW TANK. IT MIGHT ALSO INCLUDE A FIRM COMMITMENT TO PROVIDE INTEROPERABLE TACTICAL COMMUNICATIONS BY THE END OF THE CURRENT 5-YEAR PLANNING PERIOD. FINALLY, IT MIGHT SPECIFY THAT NATIONS IN THE CENTRAL REGION WILL ESTABLISH A COMMON LOGISTICS SYSTEM FOR THE CENTRAL REGION DURING THE PLANNING PERIOD.

11. A THIRD KEY ELEMENT OF THE MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE WOULD BE A SECTION IN WHICH MINISTERS IDENTIFY THE MILITARY UNITS, FROM WHATEVER SOURCE, THAT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED REASONABLY AVAILABLE FOR NATO PLANNING. THE MNC'S MUST HAVE SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS TO INCLUDE NON-COMMITTED FORCES WHICH ARE LIKELY TO BE ASSIGNED IN CASE OF CONFLICT. THIS SECTION SHOULD ALSO INCLUDE INSTRUCTIONS ON HOW TO PLAN FOR PARTICIPATION OF FRENCH FORCES.

12. MUCH THAT IS CONTAINED IN THE DOCUMENT IS NOT APPROPRIATE FOR INCLUSION IN MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE TO MNC'S. IF WASHINGTON WISHES TO MAKE THESE POINTS AND PROMOTE ACTION IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEM, THEY SHOULD BE REFERRED TO OTHER MORE APPROPRIATE NATO BODIES OR BE TAKEN UP BY THE DRC IN A CONTEXT OTHER THAN MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE
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TO MNC'S. FOR EXAMPLE, PROPOSALS IN REF A TO REVAMP THE NATO PLANNING PROCESS SHOULD BE REVIEWED BY THE MILITARY COMMITTEE. REVAMPING NATO'S DEFENSE PLANNING SYSTEMS (LIKE CHANGING THE STATED PURPOSE OF MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE) WOULD REQUIRE EXTENSIVE NEGOTIATIONS ON A MATTER WHICH, AS WE SEE IT, IS ESSENTIALLY SEPARATE FROM DEVELOPMENT OF NEW AND MORE USEFUL MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE. IF WE WISH TO REVISE NATO'S FORCE PLANNING PROCEDURES, AS SET OUT IN DPC/D(71)10, WE SHOULD DO SO BY PROPOSING FORMAL AMENDMENTS TO THAT DOCUMENT, AND DEVOTING

THE NECESSARY TIME AND EFFORT TO THE ENSUING NEGOTIATIONS.
TO ATTEMPT TO DO SO IN CONNECTION WITH DRAFTING MINISTERIAL GUID-
ANCE WOULD , IN MISSION VIEW, SLOW DOWN AND DETRACT
FROM WHAT SHOULD BE OUR MAIN EFFORT--TO IMPROVE THE SUBSTANCE
OF THE "KEY ELEMENTS" OF EXISTING GUIDANCE.

13. WASHINGTON PAPER (REF A) STATES THAT "IN LIEU OF NORMAL
FORCE PROPOSALS", NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES SHOULD PREPARE PRO-
POSALS ON HOW PLANNED FORCES COULD BE MORE EFFECTIVELY UTILIZED.
MISSION SUGGESTS THAT INSTEAD OF DROPPING THE NORMAL FORCE GOALS,
THE TWO TASKS SHOULD BE COMBINED. NATO COUNTRIES NEED THE FORCE
GOALS AS A BASIS FOR COORDINATED NATIONAL FORCE PROGRAMS, AND
COUNTRIES ALSO NEED PROPOSALS ON HOW FORCES CAN BE UTILIZED MORE
EFFECTIVELY. IMPORTANT PROPOSALS OF THE LATTER SORT SHOULD COME
FROM THE SHAPE FLEXIBILITY STUDY WHICH IS ABOUT TO BEGIN.

14. MISSION WILL SUPPLY LINE-BY- LINE COMMENT ON DRAFT IF DESIRED
AND COOPERATE IN ANY OTHER WAY TO LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR FRUITFUL
DISCUSSION OF SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES AT NEXT DPC MINISTERIAL.
THAT DISCUSSION OF ISSUES SHOULD RESULT IN: A) AGREEMENT BY
MINISTERS ON CRISP, SPECIFIC GUIDANCE TO NMA'S WHICH IS
IMPLEMENTABLE, AND B) COMMITMENT BY MINISTERS THAT RESPECTIVE ALLIED
GOVERNMENTS WILL PROVIDE REQUISITE RESOURCES AND INITIATE NECESSARY
RESTRUCTURING TO MAKE COLLECTIVE REPEAT COLLECTIVE SECURITY
SYSTEM WORK.

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